

Record surplus

When the Federal Government closed its books at midnight, June 30, bringing to an end the fiscal year of 1948, Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder reported the biggest surplus in the history of this or of any other nation. During the twelve months between July 1, 1947 and June 30, 1948, government revenue from all sources totaled \$44,747,000,000, which was \$465 million less than President Truman estimated last January. Expenditures, though down \$6 billion from the previous year, still amounted to \$36,326,000,000. Thus, to give the exact figures, the surplus was a whopping \$8,419,469,843.81. The year before it was only \$754 million. At the same time he released this report, Secretary Snyder revealed that during the course of the year the national debt had been reduced by nearly \$6 billion and now stands at \$252,292,000,000. In 1946, it will be remembered, the public debt reached an all-time high of \$279.7 billion. While the 1948 figures are certainly heartening, they are not quite so good as they seem. Shortly before the Congress adjourned in June, it directed that \$3 billion of expenditures for the European Recovery Program be charged against the surplus for fiscal 1948. The apparent purpose of this "bookkeeping switch" is to avoid the danger of a budget deficit for fiscal 1949, a possibility that became imminent when the Congress cut taxes in the face of rising expenditures for rearmament and foreign aid. This dubious device cannot change the fact that the 80th Congress, by failing to continue a policy of large budget surpluses for the immediate future, has throw away one of the few anti-inflationary weapons left in the Government's armory.

Permanent ban on rail strike

Discussing the government seizure of the railroads on May 10 to forestall a nation-wide stoppage, and the temporary injunction quickly granted by the Federal Court, this Review said that these events signified that "all the members of the Railroad Brotherhoods, and probably all railway employees, lost their right to strike." (AMERICA, May 22, p. 153.) More quickly than we imagined, this opinion received strong confirmation. After listening to arguments on a government plea for a permanent injunction against the still-threatened strike, Associate Justice T. Alan Goldsborough, on July 1, decided against the Railroad Brotherhoods. The unions themselves, he argued, had announced that, once the strike began, only troop, hospital and milk trains would be allowed to run. This meant, said the Judge,

that in a few weeks hunger would stalk the United States, the whole political and economic system would be upset, certain political ideologies opposed to the present system would have a chance to engraft themselves and our influence in the world would be a laughing stock.

Such being the facts in the case, he came to the following grim conclusion:

To permit a strike of this kind to take place is an extreme situation which society is not required to tolerate.

We do not believe that any thoughtful man, even if he is a member or leader of a union, will quarrel with this logic. In several industries strikes have become so disruptive of economic and social life that no modern society can longer tolerate them. Before coming to any other conclusion, the friends of labor would do well to study developments in England these past three years. There a Labor Government, on at least two occasions, has used troops to break crippling strikes. It is very regrettable, however, that a far-reaching decision of this kind should have come from the courts and not from Congress, since only the legislature is in the position to compensate workers for the loss of their strongest economic weapon. In a democratic society such compensation can take but one form: the workers must be given the right to participate, jointly with management, in the economic decisions which affect their livelihood. Judge Goldsborough's stand in the rail case suggests that we are on the brink of a revolution in industrial relations. To guide this revolution ought to be one of the first tasks of the Eighty-First Congress.

Lambeth, 1948

At the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 330 bishops, sixty-seven of them representing the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, are meeting in the bomb-damaged library of Lambeth Palace, near London, to consult and make recommendations to the independent churches of the Anglican Communion. Inaugurated in 1867 and scheduled for assembly every ten years, the present Conference has been delayed by the war and takes up the work of the 1930 meeting. Through five weeks of committee activity and plenary discussion the bishops propose to consider a lengthy agenda. Foremost in importance and of prime interest to all of the churches of the Anglican group, will be the discussions on marriage and unity. In America negotiations between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians have been proceeding for some years; similar negotiations are under way between the Church of England in Canada and the United Church of Canada; reunion movements are under way in Great Britain, Australia, Ceylon, the Philippines; and, speaking before the Methodist Quadrennial General Conference in Boston on May 2, the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, expressed the hope that the two communions might some day be one (AMERICA, May 15). Touchstone of Anglican attitude toward unity will be the judgment on the much-publicized Church of South India

which came into being last fall. Approved by Lambeth in 1930 and encouraged by the sympathy of two successive Archbishops of Canterbury, the Church of South India, a genial joining of episcopal, presbyteral and congregational elements, represents a surrender of the idea of a priesthood necessary for the valid ministering of the sacraments and an episcopacy necessary for the conferring of Holy Orders. Ample moral prestige is attached to the delegates to the Lambeth Conference. Should they yield to the enemies of Christian marriage—as the delegates of the 1930 conference did on the issue of birth-prevention—and to the advocates of unity on the basis of the lowest common denominator of doctrine—what T. S. Eliot, poet and lay theologian, calls “Reunion by Destruction”—Lambeth, 1948, will “preside over the liquidation” of the Anglican Communion.

Britain's “cradle to grave” security

Social security has a long history in Britain. The first reactions against the individualistic nineteenth-century outlook on social welfare resulted in passage of the Workmen's Compensation Act in 1897. In 1906 the Act, originally covering but a few dangerous trades, was extended to most occupations. The same year an enabling law made possible local school-lunch programs, and in 1907 the School Medical Inspection service came into being. Grants for maintenance of maternity and child-welfare centers date from 1911, although comprehensive service developed only in 1918. Social insurance against sickness and old age was discussed for decades prior to the 1870's, when an active campaign got under way, occasioned by inauguration of the Bismarck program in Germany. Britain prides herself, however, on being the first to incorporate the idea of government contributions, over and above those made by the employers and employees. National Health Insurance, at first with rather limited participation, came into effect in 1911. Subsequently coverage was extended to other groups than the low-income families originally aided. After the first World War unemployment insurance, already tried experimentally in a few industries, achieved greater comprehensiveness. The depression brought out some of its weaknesses. Already before the second World War, inconsistencies were noted in various of these programs and the need for integration became manifest. Accordingly, in 1941 Sir William Beveridge was appointed head of a commission to examine the whole matter thoroughly. His now famous Report revolved around the concept of a guaranteed “national minimum,” a basic income below

which, in spite of sickness, unemployment or other vicissitudes, no citizen of Britain should be allowed to fall, and one which should be his right by contract. Objectives received further clarification in the Coalition Government White Paper of 1944, and laws to implement them were progressively enacted. The Ministry of National Insurance dates from 1944; the Family Allowance Act from June, 1945; the unifying National Insurance Act from August, 1946. Hence, the inauguration on July 5, 1948 of “cradle to grave” security, envisioned in the Beveridge Report, is but the logical climax to a lengthy experiment in social insurance.

The National Insurance scheme

Britain's charter of social security insures 50,000,000 people against ill health, unemployment, industrial accidents, disease or disablement, bereavement and retirement. It also takes into consideration the expenses resulting from addition of children to the family. The scheme is comprehensive and reaches everybody. It provides a national health service giving free medical, hospital, dental and eye treatment, and allows patients to choose their own doctors. Fees are exacted only in case special treatment or private hospital rooms are wanted. The health service, many aspects of which have caused concern to doctors, particularly of conservative leanings, is perhaps the most controversial part of the national insurance scheme. But economists and social scientists will watch the whole program with care. They cannot but regard it as an honest attempt to achieve greater equality in social security and to face the problems posed by an aging population. The scheme takes contributions from practically everyone between 16 and 65, and in return promises a national minimum of security to all. But its costs are tremendous. The health service alone will require an estimated annual £250,000,000. The National Assistance Act, providing relief and welfare aid for cases not otherwise covered, demands varying amounts, depending on economic conditions. The National Insurance Act, covering most social security cases, will cost £511,000,000 in 1948 and £788,000,000 thirty years hence, as aging has its effects on the population. “Cradle to grave” security is evidently a costly business. But no one has yet shown how it can be achieved effectively for all, save by the means the British have chosen to use.

The Negroes and Henry Wallace

One of the most remarkable things about the Negro community in the United States is its political maturity and stability. One might readily imagine that a people on whom the injustices of our social system weigh so heavily would be a promising field for communism, fascism and similar extremist ideologies. But except for a few spectacular public figures like Paul Robeson and a certain number of younger hotheads, the Negro people have eyed each would-be savior with a cool, appraising glance, and gone on voting Democrat or Republican as was their wont before his apocalyptic advent. Many white men are fond of boasting that they know the Negro.

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The shoe, however, is on the other foot. It is the Negro who knows the white man, especially the white politician; he has weighed too many of them in the balance and found them wanting. Henry Wallace is the latest of those who have seen the fateful *Tekel* traced on the wall. Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, speaking at the NAACP convention in Kansas City on June 27, recalled Mr. Wallace's record in the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. Under him, in contrast to Henry Morgenthau, Jr. and Harold Ickes, a "lily-white" policy prevailed, of which traces are still to be found. We are personally acquainted with one young man, fair enough to pass for Spanish or South American, who applied for a post in Agriculture during the Wallace regime. All was going swimmingly until it was discovered that he was a Negro; then the Iron Curtain fell, leaving him *outside*. The versatile Mr. Wallace may have changed; but we should like some substantial evidence of the fact, especially in election year. So, we feel sure, would the great majority of Negro voters.

CBA charter convention

St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass., and His Excellency Archbishop Cushing of Boston, were hosts, on July 2-4, to some 150 Catholic broadcasters, program directors and radio executives who assembled to found the Catholic Broadcasters Association. Main items on the agenda were the adoption of a constitution and election of officers, which were successfully concluded in best convention tradition, though, as the convention hall was the local seminary, there were not many smoke-filled rooms. The infant Association drew representatives from as far away as Canada and California, though the main concentration was from the East and Midwest. The Association will function primarily as a service medium for members. Is someone in Kansas, say, thinking about starting a Catholic hour on a local station, and puzzling over the type of program he wants, where scripts and suggestions may be obtained? Then the CBA is his source of help. Have you been asked to conduct a youth forum or a news commentary? CBA can put you in touch with successful programs of that type. AMERICA has already been able to announce to members of CBA that weekly transcriptions of "America This Week," its news analysis over Fordham University's FM station WFUV, are available. This and similar announcements will appear in the CBA News Letter. Anyone who missed the convention but who is interested in CBA will get prompt and complete information by writing to the Catholic Broadcasters Association, P.O. Box 1682, Wilmington, Del.

The free exercise of religion

Two new documents relating to the March 8 Supreme Court decision on released time for religious instruction (the McCollum case) have recently been published. The first, in the current issue of the *Journal of the American Bar Association*, is an analysis of the McCollum decision; the second is an *amicus curiae* brief, submitted by the Greater New York Coordinating Committee on Released Time of Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics, in the

case of Joseph Lewis, president of Freethinkers of America, to upset the New York State law on released time. Calling the McCollum decision "a pronouncement by our Supreme Court on a fundamental principle, not only of national policy but of our civilization and way of life," the Bar Association *Journal* invites open discussion of the decision in its pages, since "the people should have the assistance of lawyers in coming to an understanding of its effect and implications." The question the *Journal* poses is whether the Supreme Court didn't really deny the "free exercise" of religion clause of the First Amendment in its decision. And it answers the question by maintaining, first, that the Champaign, Ill., program of released time, approved by the Illinois Supreme Court, did not violate the U.S. Constitution, and, second, that the U.S. Supreme Court, in declaring the Champaign program unconstitutional, challenged "the traditionally religious sanctions of our law, life and government . . . by a philosophy and a judicial propensity which deserve the careful thought and concern of lawyers and people." The second document, the brief of the Greater New York Coordinating Committee on Released Time, is a carefully documented reply, point by point, to the action brought by Joseph Lewis which is now before the New York Supreme Court. It is the New York law of 1940 that is at issue, and the three lawyers for the New York Coordinating Committee—Charles H. Tuttle, Porter R. Chandler and Louis M. Loeb—properly base their case on the precise provisions of that law; but the brief contains as well competent cross-references to similar laws in other States and to the McCollum decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. Both the *Journal* article and the New York brief are cogent critiques of the Supreme Court philosophy which tends to "substitute freedom from religion for freedom of religion" and to "force the State to erect a 'wall of separation' between parent and child.

ACTU convention

Welcomed informally to the Archdiocese by his Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists held its fourth annual convention in New York City, July 3-5. In addition to official ACTU groups from Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and New York, fraternal delegations were on hand representing the Catholic Labor Alliance of Chicago, the Catholic Labor Guild of Boston, the Brooklyn Social Action Department, the Xavier Labor School of Manhattan, the Catholic Committee of the South, and the Social Action Institute of Hartford, Conn. Chapters in Oakland and San Francisco sent reports to the convention and Charles Kelly, of London, brought greetings from ACTU in England. Resolutions criticizing the 80th Congress for not raising the legal minimum wage to seventy-five cents an hour and calling for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, on the ground that it had "introduced confusion and bewilderment into industrial relations," were unanimously approved by the delegates. They also condemned the Wallace third-party movement, though conceding that a new party devoted to liberal principles might be a wel-

come addition to the American political scene. George Donahue, popular president of the New York Chapter of ACTU, was elected national chairman, succeeding Roger Larkin, also of New York. As evidence of the respected place ACTU holds in U.S. labor circles, such notables as U.S. Senator Robert F. Wagner, Mayor O'Dwyer, of New York, CIO President Philip Murray and Paul M. Herzog, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, sent greetings and best wishes. The fourth annual convention was another heartening chapter in a story of steady progress and achievement for Christian ideals of trade unionism.

Church situation in Poland

Pressure against the Catholic Church by the Warsaw regime continues, although pro-Soviet officials are reported divided as to the methods of procedure. The hierarchy's pastoral letter to Polish youth, urging rejection of materialism, provoked a strong reaction. Advocating an all-out "get-tough-with-the-Church" policy is Stanislaw Radkiewicz, communist Minister of Security. Other officials, headed by Hilary Minc of the economic department, are believed to favor a less drastic course. Radkiewicz's program, as formulated at the Cabinet meeting on June 9, 1948, is supported by Jakob Berman and Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka. They contend that the Government must continue to fight the Church more fiercely than ever, because the people are consolidating around the Church. Gomulka, who ranks second to General Zhdanov in the Cominform, insists that any let-up in the anti-Church campaign might result in confusion even among the Security Police itself. On the legal front, the Warsaw Government has decided to introduce further changes in the matrimonial law enacted two years ago. One amendment would forbid the granting of a religious marriage to persons who have not already contracted a civil one. Thus the communist Government would make difficult further boycotting of civil marriage, a form of resistance used heretofore. Another amendment provides a simplified divorce procedure. According to its provisions, divorce could be granted at the request of one of the parties after five years of separation. This is intended to hit people separated as a result of the war. Persons who refuse to return to Soviet-dominated Poland because of terror and persecution face the danger of having their marriages invalidated. This applies especially in the case of displaced Polish soldiers still abroad, many of whom left their wives and children in the homeland.

Don't Buy British!

The neighborhood in which AMERICA's editorial residence is located is being evangelized by a sound truck bearing huge posters with scriptural texts, its roof thronged with clerical figures. The gospel preached is simple and single: Don't Buy the Goods of the British Enemies of Israel. The sponsorship of the *Protestant*, Kenneth Leslie's left-wing magazine—along with blaring slogans—makes the preaching manifestly more political than spiritual. The same campaign is being pushed ener-

getically elsewhere through full-page advertisements in trade-papers and stickers on store windows, in an effort to spread the movement to all neighborhoods of America. With the bad feeling that exists between the British and the Zionists we have no concern, beyond regret that former friends have fallen into mutual recriminations. Contriving economic sanctions against England for political purposes is another matter. It is a short-sighted policy that could have large and disastrous implications. England is an essential element in America's plan for a stable Europe and, in consequence, for our own security. The money of America is being spent ungrudgingly to support England's production and export program. Who, apart from Russia, would profit from the further weakening of England, it is not easy to see. The campaign of economic sanctions against England will eventually backfire. Zionists who allow themselves to be used by adroit Communists deserve disavowal and censure.

Ukrainian refugees endangered in Italy

According to information recently received, twenty-six Ukrainian refugees are now held in the concentration camp on the island of Lipari, near Sicily. All are in danger of being turned over to the Soviets as "war criminals." By virtue of Art. 45 of the Italian Peace Treaty, Italy is compelled to surrender refugees if such are wanted by the signatories of the treaty—the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia. Losing no time, Soviet agents, through the well-developed "Troyka" spy ring, promptly collected hundreds of names of Ukrainian, Polish, Yugoslav and Russian refugees, which they subsequently submitted to the Italian Government with a demand for extradition. The first arrests by Italian police were made December 30, 1947, on the *Santa Cruz* before her departure for Argentina, when twelve refugees were taken to a Naples prison. There one Ukrainian, Mykola Simonov, died. Later, responding to pressure from the Soviet Embassy in Rome, more arrests were made in the cities of Bologna, Udine, Trento and Sondrio. All possible efforts toward halting this process have been made by the Vatican Committee for Refugees; the Ukrainian Relief Committee, headed by Bishop Ivan Buchko, Apostolic Delegate for the Catholic Ukrainians in Western Europe; Msgr. Landi, representative of NCWC-War Relief Services in Rome; by IRO; the International Red Cross, and others. In response, on February 28, 1948, Italy's President de Nicola issued a decree barring extradition until charges against the refugees could be proved before the Appellate Court of Rome; and soon there will be a trial at which the Soviets will have an opportunity to substantiate their accusations. According to reliable information, none of the Ukrainians is guilty of war crimes; nor were any of them ever Soviet citizens. As Catholics and anti-Communists, they had refused to return to the Soviet Union, a course which constitutes high treason in the eyes of Russians. We hope that the new Italy will live up to the reputation for fairness she enjoys, and will release the intended victims of Soviet persecution. They cannot expect justice if they are handed over.

Washington Front

The sometimes desperate, sometimes ludicrous attempts of Democratic leaders to hitch Gen. Dwight Eisenhower to their November cart emphasized again the strange political amalgam that is today the party of Jefferson and Jackson. The factional dirk-tossing and mayhem that went with this attempt must have all but demolished any chance the party had to defeat the Republicans this fall.

The whoop-it-up for General Eisenhower arose chiefly from three sources within the Democratic party—the Southern conservatives, the big-city bosses, the nostalgic old New Dealers. The Southerners hated Harry Truman because he had the courage to speak out for Negro rights. Big-city bosses didn't want him because they believed they could not win with him. And whatever stray wisps of splendid idealism might remain among the old New Dealers didn't keep them from climbing into bed with the John Rankins on the one hand and the Frank Hagues on the other.

None of these groups knew in any well-defined way what General Eisenhower might believe on the important public issues of the day. As a soldier, General Eisenhower had no reason or opportunity to be making speeches about civil rights, the Taft-Hartley law, housing or social security. But for quite opposite reasons many

leaders sought to ditch Mr. Truman, and they hoped the General would hear their plea.

In terms of general policy, Harry Truman has stuck about as closely to the doctrine of his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, as a man could. On his recent Western trip he again pledged himself to carry forward the social measures begun nationally under Mr. Roosevelt. But the old New Dealers, once so powerful, were on the outside looking in as far as the White House was concerned. They said they didn't like the crowd around Mr. Truman. His civil-rights message was what they've been shouting for for years, but they didn't like what he did on Palestine and they didn't like some of his appointments, and so they set out to cut him down.

The city bosses wanted a man at the head of their ticket so strong that they would be sure of winning the city halls and courthouses, with all their power and patronage, in November. The Southerners didn't mind making the Democratic Party a minority party for years to come if they could dominate it and shove out the more progressive Northern elements.

The party convention just beginning in Philadelphia is likely to be loaded with bitter factionalism. It will be every man and every faction for himself—and national election victories aren't built that way.

There's another factor, too. Politics costs money. It takes millions to run a national campaign today. A party as torn as is the Democratic party today may have trouble raising funds.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

Despite a ruling of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, some years ago, that it is not illegal for people to teach in North Dakota public schools while wearing a religious garb, the voters of the State have just approved a measure prohibiting the wearing of a religious garb in public schools. The vote was close, and shows that many fair-minded Protestants registered their disapproval of the measure. It now seems the logical step to test the constitutionality of this ridiculous prohibition. The group calling themselves Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State bore down heavily to get the measure passed. While loudly asserting their allegiance to religious liberty for all, Protestants United will see to it, if they can, that religious liberty is denied to Catholics. Their technique is to put a legal face on their anti-Catholicism. Well, let's find out whether the legal face is fair or foul. We think that a test in the courts would show it to be foul.

► Meanwhile, if Protestants United are sincere, which we find it hard to believe, they will not stop with banning nuns and priests from teaching in public schools; they will clean out the Protestant ministers from the public schools as well. Or doesn't the principle of separation

of Church and State go that far? Maybe it is time for Catholics to make it go that far.

► The celebration, on June 29, of the centenary of Detroit's Church of Sts. Peter and Paul brings to mind much interesting history. Only three other Catholic churches were in existence in Detroit when Bishop Peter Paul LeFevre consecrated Sts. Peter and Paul's as his cathedral church; now there are over a hundred Catholic churches. Detroit's population in 1848 was a mere 20,000, compared with its present two million. In 1877, when Bishop Caspar Henry Borgess asked the Jesuits to open a college in Detroit, he gave them his cathedral, and Sts. Peter and Paul's became not only the center of the buildings housing the old Detroit College on Jefferson Avenue, but the parish church of many of Detroit's oldest families. As Detroit College grew into the University of Detroit, it needed more space and moved to its present campus on McNichols Road; and the old residents, too, moved by degrees to newer sections of the city. But old Sts. Peter and Paul's is still the mother church of the Jesuits of Detroit, as it is still the center of the University's downtown schools.

► The School of St. Philip Neri (for delayed vocations) which the Jesuits conduct at 126 Newbury St., Boston, has graduated its second class of 72 students, 35 of whom will prepare for the priesthood in 14 archdioceses and dioceses, and 37 will continue studies for 15 religious and missionary institutes.

A. P. F.

Editorials

Behind the Stalin-Tito quarrel

As the ruthless duel between the Kremlin and the tough-minded dictator of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, went into its second sensational week, Western experts on Marxism-Leninism could agree on no single explanation of the split in the monolithic unity of Stalin's empire in Eastern Europe. Among the theories advanced, three appeared to have special merit.

According to the first, the Kremlin was angered by Tito's "nationalism" and "independence." Alone of the communist bosses of the subjugated lands of Eastern Europe, the Yugoslav dictator did not owe his sway to the Red Army and tended to act accordingly. In the nightmarish world of Stalinism, such a line of conduct was plainly treasonable. Stalin had to crack down or risk a similar show of independence by other stooges he put in power.

A second theory is that Moscow's decision to fight Marshall-Plan aid has exacerbated the already hostile feelings of the subject populations toward their alien-minded, dictatorial rulers. Marshal Tito, who obviously enjoys the pleasures and trappings of power, needs machinery of all kinds to rebuild Yugoslavia, increase production and thus strengthen his position. But Russia cannot supply the machinery and the West can. Why should he sacrifice Yugoslavia, and the future of communism there, on the altar of Russian power politics?

A third theory holds that the quarrel is mainly ideological, that by refusing to collectivize agriculture at once and not building the Communist Party of Yugoslavia on an exclusively proletarian base, Tito has strayed from strict Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. The fact that the proletariat of Yugoslavia is very small numerically, and that its farmers are fiercely independent and strongly attached to their land, is not regarded in Moscow as sufficient reason for unorthodoxy.

An especially confusing aspect of the brawl is its timing. Why, with the tension rising in Berlin, with an election scheduled in Finland (which turned out to be a resounding defeat for the Communists), with the left-wing Socialists meeting at Genoa to reconsider their shaky alliance with Togliatti, did the Kremlin choose to precipitate a public fight that was certain to weaken the communist movement? Like so many other questions that arise in connection with Russia, this one, as well as the whole story of the Kremlin-Tito break, will not be answered until one of the principals talks for history.

Meanwhile, the Russian machiavellians have handed the Western Powers an unparalleled opportunity for effective propaganda. For two weary years, Messrs. Gromyko and Molotov have posed before the United Nations as champions of absolute sovereignty and com-

plete national independence. Now, by their unashamed effort to dictate to Yugoslavia, even to the point of encouraging a rebellion against the rule of Marshal Tito, they stand revealed before the world as the unprincipled hypocrites informed people already knew them to be. Even such a mushy-headed thinker as Henry Wallace can scarcely continue to have any illusions.

Furthermore, as charges and counter-charges are flung between Belgrade and Moscow, as the satrapies continue to make their servile obeisance to the Kremlin, as the communist parties on this side of the Iron Curtain—in France, England, the United States—dutifully pledge their support to Stalin and excoriate Tito's defection from strict Marxism-Leninism, the whole world will see what a conspiracy for conquest the Russian dictators have fashioned, and what a threat it is to the liberties of free men everywhere. They will understand, too, the whole lying nature of the united-front technique, and the impossibility of cooperating with the Communists, anywhere or any time, on a basis of honesty and mutual respect.

Tito remains a Communist—a cruel, tyrannical dictator whose hands are red with innocent blood. But the free world owes him a debt of gratitude for kicking over the Russian traces and forcing Stalin to hang a lot of very dirty wash on the line. The Voice of America and every other available organ of American propaganda ought to make the most of it.

Germany's eastern frontiers

Writing of Germany's future in the July, 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, John Foster Dulles of necessity came to a discussion of frontiers. Narrowed borders and a population greatly increased by expulsions from the east have created for postwar Germany economic and social problems almost insoluble. "The crux of the problem," wrote Mr. Dulles, "lies in the east. History will probably decide that the Soviet Union has been pressing Poland further to the west into Germany than is in Poland's own interest."

Similar reflections, over the past three years, have been made by former Secretary of State and Under Secretary Sumner Welles, although the latter is not on principle opposed to population transfers. Others have expressed themselves in like strain, including Britain's Ernest Bevin and Poland's former ambassador in Washington, Jan Ciechanowski. Such observers early saw that stripping Germany of all lands up to the Oder-Neisse is fundamentally inequitable, and for that very reason provides the Moscow dictatorship with a club to hold over the heads of future Polish governments.

Indications that this club may soon be used are found

in the program presented in June by the communist-dominated People's Council of the German Congress. This offers a provisional government of a "unified" Germany the right to discuss problems of all frontiers. Evidently the Politburo is now prepared to exploit the strategic value of the so-called "Recovered Territories," despite Mr. Molotov's assurance on September 16, 1946 that the Oder-Neisse boundaries were final.

There are numerous reasons, other than those motivating the Politburo, why the Oder-Neisse should not become Germany's permanent eastern boundary. To urge them implies no lack of sympathy for the Poles, who suffered immense war losses and have a right to reparations from a former aggressor under the Nazis. But we must make sure that, in redressing justifiable grievances of Germany's eastern neighbor, new and greater injustices are not sanctioned. Some readjustment of pre-war boundaries might be in order, but it is a procedure of doubtful justice and political wisdom forcibly to separate millions of Germans from their livelihood and source of food. This is what has happened consequent to the mass expulsions from the eastern lands and the expropriation of properties which some German families have occupied for centuries.

Upwards of 15 million persons of German ethnic origin formerly residing in Eastern Europe fled or were taken to the four zones of occupied Germany. Somewhere in the vicinity of 10 million came from East Prussia, Poland and the Oder-Neisse territories; the rest were from the Sudetenland, Hungary and the Balkans. Conceivably, these refugees and expellees might have been absorbed, with difficulty, in a Germany the size of the pre-Hitler Reich. But severing of the Oder-Neisse territories reduced the country's size by one-fifth. The result was a sharp increase in population density, aggravated by the fact that the total number of dwelling units available is only a fraction of pre-war.

The separated provinces produced 22 per cent of the food formerly required by Germany, itself a deficit nation that had to import 20 per cent of its foodstuffs. Moreover, in the rump Germany not more than 1.5 million acres could be used for new farms. Apart from the grave food shortage, this poses a resettlement problem. Some 30 million acres would be needed to provide land for the dispossessed peasants from the east. Hence, defeated Germany is confronted with a serious unemployment problem, as well as with a greatly increased population and decreased food supply.

Before the war, the population density of Germany was 382 per square mile, while that of Poland was 231. Should the present frontiers remain permanent, the differential would be 550 and 160 per square mile respectively. Besides being inequitable, such differences within a few miles constitute an explosive situation. Either a pauperized Germany will become a minor nation with a very low standard of living—and that would drag down standards for all Central Europe—or else a people conscious of injustice, striving to regain what they lost. History teaches that lesson.

At Potsdam, it was reaffirmed that "the final delimita-

tion of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace conference." Again, in June, 1948, our State Department reported on the London Conference: "There is no intention to make final decisions on the German frontier question at this time, a task properly pertaining to the peace settlement." That is the United States position. When the decision is made, justice and equity must be guiding norms. And the Germans should be heard.

Schools in Hungary

To French Socialists and certain American educationalists we commend a study of the present bitter struggle in Hungary on the question of Catholic schools. Running true to totalitarian form, the communist-dominated Government is bent on nationalizing the church schools, which comprise some 60 per cent of the school system. At a May Day celebration, communist leader A. Apor declared: "We shall not tolerate that the schools turn our children against democracy. The time has come for us to liberate democratic educators from the terrorism of [Cardinal] Mindszenty and his associates." To which the Cardinal replied on May 16:

Our Catholic education is never opposed to the true spirit of democracy. But does liberty exist where Catholics may not have their schools, but where there are state schools by which a party in power, often a minority, can impose its ideology on the children of the majority? (CIP Correspondence, June 12.)

The Minister of Education, protesting the nation-wide disapproval of nationalizing the schools (Hungary is 70 per cent Catholic), and blaming it on the Church, demanded that "every kind of agitation against Hungarian democracy should be stopped at once." To this fiat was joined systematic government interference with anti-nationalization meetings and a campaign of vilification against Cardinal Mindszenty. The Cardinal protested so vigorously against this "falsehood, deceit and terror" that by June 28 he was enjoined by the Government from speaking publicly on the scheme to nationalize the schools.

Rumors that the Cardinal lacked the support of Rome in his actions were effectively quashed by a Papal address, broadcast on May 31 in Latin and Hungarian, urging the Hungarian people to stand fast in their hour of trial and imparting "with abounding charity the Apostolic Benediction to Our beloved son, Joseph Mindszenty, Archbishop of Strigonia, to the other prelates of Hungary, to priests, members of religious communities and all the faithful."

It is probably too much to expect that the fearless protests of Cardinal Mindszenty (whose defiance of the wartime nazi authorities earned him a prison sentence), even though they express the wishes of the majority of the Hungarian people, will prevail against the communist-dominated Government. Another link is being forged in the fetters of that unhappy country. Christians of the West, who can offer the people of Hungary little beyond their sympathy and their prayers, see with sorrow the inevitable working out of the totalitarian pattern.

That is why at the beginning of the editorial we commended to French Socialists and American educators a study of the Hungarian school question. The former (cf. *AMERICA*, May 29, June 12 and 26) are showing the endemic itch for nationalization of private schools; some of the latter talk as if the public school were the only "American" school. To both we say that if the private school did not exist it would be necessary, for the well-being of a democracy, to invent it. It is part of the apparatus of freedom. For a democracy is not a state in which the government-controlled schools teach what is, in fact, good for the people, but a state in which the apparatus of dissent from the government, including schools, is accessible to all the people.

Life and Jesuit ethics

Life magazine for July 5 carries some of the correspondence along with editorial retort dealing with the previously published article "The Protestant Revolution" (*Life*, June 14). Since we believe that *Life* has more than adequate editorial means to reach the truth if it so desires, we do not intend to waste space exhorting that magazine to strive for the sense of public responsibility which its wide circulation demands. For the benefit, however, of our own readers, we think it advisable to clear up some of the confusion which seems to have been created.

Of Jesuit ethics *Life* wrote (July 5): "Jesuit Herman Busenbaum, recognized by Catholic source books as one of the founders of classical Jesuit doctrine, wrote in his *Medulla Theologiae* (1650): 'When the end is lawful, the means are also lawful.'" To remove all uncertainty at once, no Jesuit nor any other moralist approved by the Church has ever taught that the end always justifies the means. If Fr. Busenbaum had been read intelligently, or even completely, *Life* would have learned that the Jesuit moralist says very plainly: "A precept forbidding what is wrong in itself must never be violated, not even through fear of death." It might be of special interest to *Life* to know that among those things "wrong in themselves" is slander. The passage quoted in the magazine is a single sentence wholly out of context. "It is lawful for the accused," writes Fr. Busenbaum,

even when really guilty, to escape before and after the sentence of death, or of some punishment equal to death, for example, life imprisonment, has been passed. The reason is because man's right to his life is so great that no human power can oblige him not to preserve it, if there be well-grounded hope of his doing so; unless indeed the public weal demand otherwise. Hence the accused may escape . . . unless charity urge him not to do so, when the harm to the guards is greater than that which would come to himself. Much more so may he flee so as not to be captured . . . but he must use no violence by wounding or striking the ministers of justice. He may also, at least before the tribunal of conscience, circumvent the guards—excluding violence and injury—by giving them, for instance, food or drink to induce sleep, or by bringing it about that they will be absent; he may snap his chains, or break open the prison, because, when the end is lawful,

the means are also lawful. (*Medulla*, Lib. IV, c. 3, d. 7, a. 2)

As is obvious to all except those who restrict themselves to the final few words, Fr. Busenbaum has explicitly excluded all unjust means. In the sense given—and it is a commonplace with Catholic moralists—the end does justify the means.

It is interesting to recall at this time that Fr. Peter Roh of the Society of Jesus offered a reward of one thousand gulden in Germany to anyone who could prove that the Society ever officially subscribed to this Machiavellian tenet. Between 1852 and 1872 no one was able to capture the inviting reward—in charge of the juridical Faculties of three state universities—although one reckless newspaper made a claim to discovering the principle in the Constitutions of the Society, while a rash university professor discovered to his chagrin that his authorities were of the same caliber as those recently offered by *Life*.

A few years after the Roh incident, Döllinger and Reusch published their *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten* which was based entirely on secret (and stolen) papers of the Society. Although it was to expose all of the Jesuit depravity, the reader will find it significantly dull as far as startling revelation is concerned. More recently, the magazine *Current History* (March, 1924) ran an article by Professor Alexander Petrunkevitch of Yale called "Russia and the Baltic States." In speaking of Lenin, Dr. Petrunkevitch wrote:

In his (Lenin's) effort to force communism upon an unwilling world, Lenin, with characteristic vigor, brought to life another old principle which is far more dangerous than communism and the poison of which will continue to work within the national organism of Russia for many years to come—the principle laid down by Loyola that the end justifies the means.

The late Fr. Paul Blakely wrote to Dr. Petrunkevitch and asked for a reference to the place where Loyola made the statement. Genuine scholar that he was, Dr. Petrunkevitch replied:

Your letter has caused me not a little uneasiness because I have been accustomed from my school days in Russia to attribute the maxim that the end justifies the means to the Jesuits. . . . When I received your letter I took, for the first time in my life, the trouble of looking up the matter. . . . It appears from what I have learned that the broadly accepted impression that the maxim has been promulgated by the Jesuits is not based on any of their teachings, still less on the writings of Loyola himself. I am sorry that I should have thus inadvertently hurt the memory of a great man and shall not repeat this regrettable mistake in the future. . . .

Quoting in the same issue a rule of St. Ignatius for thinking with the Church, *Life* ignored the technical advice which it received before the issue went to press. In the area of faith and morals, all Catholics must be ready to accept a definition of the Church, and in this sense alone does "black become white." It is high time that *Life* forgot about subscriptions and concentrated on truth.

Apostles of a new Germany

A. J. Fuhs

Father A. J. Fuhs, pastor at Rockglen, Sask., Canada, was so impressed with the specialized apostolate he saw at work in Germany in 1947 that, back home again, he asked, and obtained, permission to return to the Saar and work for the International Bureau of the JOC.

Since the collapse of the Nazi regime, much has been said and written about Germany's bleeding body and her tortured soul. It has been pointed out that the majority of Germans today are escaping from their responsibilities by taking refuge behind sarcastic criticism of the occupation policy in all zones. Their spiritual and political indifferentism, resulting from the dire misery of hunger, cold and homelessness, renders the nation's re-education extremely difficult, we are told, if not impossible. Vivid pictures have been painted, in conference halls and in the daily press, about Germany's frightening despair. Her tragic disillusionment, together with her deep-seated resentment in regard to everything concerning the occupation's de-nazification policy, are supposedly disqualifying the German people for democratic thinking and living.

All this is true; at least I am convinced that enough evidence from everyday life in Germany can be adduced to justify an analysis of the German situation such as I have indicated. But, after an extended visit to Germany in the summer of 1947, I became equally convinced that it is not the full truth. There is another side to the picture, and I believe that, in justice to the German people as well as to ourselves, we must take note of it. Knowing all the facts, instead of only half of them, will not only satisfy a justifiable curiosity, but, more important, it will strengthen our determination to put Germany, and with Germany Europe, back on its feet, because we are assured that it is worth the effort.

The facts which I witnessed for over four months in various parts of Germany can be reduced to only one, namely, that of the Catholic Specialized Apostolate. In its specialized form, such a type of apostolate is entirely new to Germany. But, in two short years, it has already developed to such a degree that we are reasonably justified in expecting from it an outstanding, if not decisive, contribution to Germany's (and Europe's) reconstruction. Above all, the rapid extension of the movement over the three western zones has sufficiently proved that not all Germans are despairing, or avoiding responsibility, or indifferent to the country's readjustment to Christian democracy. There are still Germans, especially of the younger generation, who are spiritually strong enough to resist the effects of twelve years of Nazism.

The Catholic Specialized Apostolate took root in Germany even during the war. When, in 1942, French workers were deported to Germany, a considerable number of Jocists from all parts of France were among them. By special permission of the hierarchy, some twenty young priests had voluntarily, but clandestinely, joined the caravan of twentieth-century slaves and followed them, not only into factories and workshops, but also into concentration camps and, in some cases, to their heroic

death. Reading today about the apostolic mission which these courageous soldiers of Christ fulfilled among their fellow-workers or fellow-prisoners, one is vividly reminded of the apostles and martyrs of the first century. It is a fascinating story in itself, and once it is told outside France as it should be told, it will be recognized as one of the greatest stories of World War II.

During the war, the contacts of the French Jocists with young German workers were necessarily limited, because their activities had to be kept strictly hidden from the Gestapo's watchful eye. Religious activities or solicitations concerning them were considered criminal by the German authorities and were severely punished. But the goal was clear from the very beginning. As one of them put it: "Christ teaches us to radiate friendship and charity wherever there is division and incomprehension and hatred. Should we, therefore, not live and develop the spirit of peace and charity among the Christian nations that live on German soil?" They truly practised what they preached. For them, Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians or Slavs were all brothers in Christ, members of one and the same Mystical Body of Christ. They prayed together, assisted at Mass together and received Holy Communion together. All the while they were surrounded by suspicion, treachery and death. The existence of Jocism in postwar Germany is in very deed a triumph of charity tested in the blazing hell of racial and international hatred. It is the fruit of that beautiful and divine flower which blossomed amidst the storm of merciless warfare and grew to maturity under the icy breath of total destruction.

After war's end, French Jocists came into the open. With them emerged the first German Jocists, who wanted to share their extraordinary experiences with their German fellow-workers. They wanted to transform them as they themselves had been transformed by the spirit and example of brotherly love. They started in a quiet way, gathering young workers in small groups and instructing them in the principles and techniques of the specialized apostolate. They discussed their everyday problems and looked for proper solutions. They did not always find them. In many instances, they felt that proper solutions were beyond their reach, and decided therefore to restrict themselves to smaller and more practical tasks.

They were not discouraged. With the difficulties around them grew their conviction that their apostolate was needed. They saw the frustration of their comrades and aimed to give them a new and greater ideal to live for. Refusing to blame others exclusively for all the evils that had befallen their country, they acknowledged frankly their solidarity in punishment as well as in guilt. They fought the spiritual paralysis within their immediate environment by spurring their families and friends to a

wholesome self-help and practical initiative based on concrete responsibilities. They assisted each other in the complicated search for food, which implied long travels into rural districts and was responsible for a great deal of absenteeism in factories and considerable loss in wages. They helped procure materials for rebuilding homes, and sacrificed free time to lend a hand at the building. They visited sick fellow-workers and filled their hearts with new hope. Others who were undernourished and overworked were sent to the country to rest and recuperate under more favorable conditions. When I asked one of the militants in the Saar Valley how he had brought a certain person into his group, he replied: "I noticed one day at recess that he had no lunch, so I walked over and gave him half of mine."

It is not surprising that, impressed by such example and zeal, more and more workers were attracted by the movement, which soon spread over several dioceses.

Through their French friends, the International Bureau of the JOC in Brussels was approached, and in January, 1947 the first official congress was held in Ludwigshafen, with delegates representing German Jocists in thirty cities. The representative of the International Bureau greeted them in the name of their fellow Jocists in fifty-two countries. There was frank and extensive discussion of the primary problems facing the young worker in Germany today. The German Jocist movement was officially endorsed and given the name of *Christliche Arbeiter Jugend* (Christian Workers' Youth). Four secretariats were created, in Aix-la-Chapelle, Essen, Ludwigshafen and Munich, and their respective presidents were to form the central commission of the CAJ in Germany, which would meet regularly and work out the problems of the movement on a national basis. In March, 1947, Canon Cardijn made an extensive tour through Germany and could witness with satisfaction the beginning of a new spiritual harvest on German soil.

In June, two young German workers attended the International Study Week on the JOC in Montreal, and by this expression of good will and cooperation on behalf of the German Jocist movement, made a solid contribution to international understanding and peace. In this connection, the presence of Cardinal Frings of Cologne at the Congress and his visit to the national bureau of the Canadian JOC in Montreal are of special significance.

When I left Germany, at the beginning of October, 1947, the movement had its own bulletin for militants, edited by the young workers themselves. Several pamphlets had been published to propagate the nature and technique of specialized Catholic Action. In the almost complete absence of literature on the subject, these few pamphlets were quickly exhausted. *Fishers of Men*, by van der Meersch, was one of the most widely read books in Germany. But, here again, the demand is far greater than the actual supply of copies, and this regrettable lack will continue until Herder in Frankfurt brings out a new translation from the original. Study days and even study weeks were organized in various places and at least six bishops have officially accepted and recognized the movement as part of their diocesan apostolate.

It is understandable that difficulties should have arisen over the coordination of the new movement with the old youth organizations, which have left the ghetto after the collapse of the Nazi regime and are again carrying the flag of Christ the King through the streets of German cities, towns and villages. But such difficulties should not be taken too seriously. They have existed in other countries where specialized Catholic Action developed, and have gradually disappeared as the theory and methods of Catholic Action were better understood. In Germany, loyalty to the traditional forms may be stronger than elsewhere, but eventually the providential teaching of Pius XI on specialized Catholic Action will be generally understood and accepted. Even now, students and farm workers are being organized on the same basis as the industrial workers.

There cannot be any doubt that the idea of specialized Catholic Action, together with its activating mystique,



has deeply penetrated German Catholic life and has made itself felt even in non-Catholic circles. The CAJ has prepared the way for this "triumph of specialization" in a struggle which was not always fought without harsh words and regrettable heartaches. On the other hand, the young German worker was the least contaminated by the philosophy of Nazism and came, therefore, with a relatively unprejudiced mind to

the task of re-Christianizing his environment.

It is true that the progress of the new movement is jeopardized at times by the impatient zeal of some members of the clergy who, with more enthusiasm than understanding, are trying to organize Catholic Action from the top down instead of letting it grow organically from the bottom up. The *Fuehrerprinzip* is still too deeply implanted in the German mind to allow unhindered growth to a movement which emphasizes as a basic principle the sharing of responsibility as much as possible by as many as possible. Though appreciating help and inspiration from whatever source, the Young Christian Workers in Germany insist that their movement is exclusively their own affair and responsibility. While always submissive to and in close union with the hierarchy and the clergy, and while recognizing the place and the task of the intellectual lay leader, they nevertheless resent being led by intellectuals as syndicates and other youth organizations are. They have in this the full support of their fellow-Jocists in other countries, and especially of Canon Cardijn himself, who must have thought of these dangers when he said: "I am not afraid of the obstacles which the CAJ will have to face now, but of too many friends who may risk disfiguring it." Furthermore, on account of the acute shortage of paper and newsprint, many groups are obliged to carry on without the proper knowledge of the principles and methods of Catholic Action, and

there is danger that even priests are helping to organize what they believe Catholic Action to be rather than what it actually is.

But, be this as it may, the really important fact is that Germany's youth is not altogether corrupted. A great percentage of them are recognizing their duty before God and their fellow-men and are willing to fulfill it with a typical German thoroughness which is refreshing in

Gandhi, India and Christianity

Most Rev. Thos. Pothacamury

The Most Reverend Thomas Pothacamury, Bishop of Bangalore, India, is a frequent contributor to the Shield, organ of the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade. From his long pastoral career in India, he has a special understanding of that country's people and their traditions.

The assassination of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by the editor of an extreme nationalist newspaper was a genuinely personal loss for millions in India, while its repercussions in all quarters of the globe bore testimony to Gandhi's world-wide influence and prestige. Messages of condolence poured into New Delhi from rulers and statesmen, who recognized in him a leader of international stature.

Mr. Gandhi's sway over the minds of the intellectual classes as well as the masses was unrivaled. The political history of India was largely shaped by his work, character and influence. He upheld the supremacy of the spiritual values of life and fought for political freedom by the novel weapons of soul-force and non-violence. "No power on earth," he declared, "can stop the march of a resolute, God-fearing, non-violent people." He was a political leader, social reformer, protector of the depressed and down-trodden, philosopher, sage, mystic and ascetic. His simplicity of life and unflinching advocacy of the ideals of truth, peace, human brotherhood, tolerance and forbearance won him universal respect and admiration. His fervid eloquence riveted the attention of the masses and moved the central depths of their hearts as they had never been moved before.

He was a protector of minorities and resolutely opposed injustice, violence and oppression. When the whole of India rejoiced at the dawn of independence on August 15, 1947, and the Constituent Assembly celebrated the event in New Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi fasted in Calcutta to bring about harmony and good understanding between Hindus and Moslems there. He achieved marvelous success. In September, 1947 he came to New Delhi where the refugees from the Punjab, full of bitterness at their harrowing experiences, took revenge on the Moslems in the Indian capital. Mahatma Gandhi sought to transform the situation by appeals for peace and sanity and daily addresses at prayer meetings. In a supreme effort to bring about concord between the two warring communities, he began an indefinite fast on January 13, 1948, which he ended six days later. He broke the fast only when 130 Hindu, Sikh, Moslem and other leaders gave a definite pledge in writing that they would implement the conditions laid down by him. This pledge was further

reinforced by some 200,000 signatures of the rank and file. The seven conditions were all in favor of the civic and religious rights of the Moslems and of communal peace and harmony.

He took up the cause of the persecuted Catholics in a village, Kamhai, twenty-five miles from Delhi, towards the end of November last. The Catholics of the village wrote to Mahatma Gandhi relating the story of the persecution. The letter was presented by the priest in charge and the catechist. Mahatma Gandhi referred to the hardships of the Catholics and hoped that these "Christian brothers and sisters would be allowed to follow their own faith and vocation without hindrance." When it was suggested to him that their offense consisted in eating pork and beef, which practice, however, the chaplain declared they had voluntarily given up, Mr. Gandhi deplored the prejudice which had made this sacrifice necessary. "If this kind of unreasonable prejudice persisted, the future of independent India would be dismal."

The Christian community, both Catholic and Protestant, expressed its appreciation of his services in public meetings and private messages addressed to the Prime Minister. Mahatma Gandhi stood foremost in the country as an example of spiritual strength and a steadying and stabilizing force in the midst of divisive tendencies and religious intolerance and hatred. By his belief in God, prayer and spiritual values of life, and the practice of penance and fasting, he made a notable contribution toward arresting the growth of a materialistic view of life. He drew much inspiration from the New Testament, particularly the Sermon on the Mount, which he quoted frequently in his writings and prayer meetings. He turned the attention of the country to the towering personality and sweet figure of Jesus Christ, to whom he came nearest among non-Christians, in mind and spirit. He did not give allegiance to the Divine Founder of Christianity. He remained a Hindu, for he was an eclectic in religious matters and did not believe in conversion from one religion to another. But no one outside the Catholic Church echoed more consistently and eloquently the ethical content of Christ's message than Mahatma Gandhi.

When Margaret Sanger visited India ten or twelve years ago and endeavored to popularize artificial birth

control, Mahatma Gandhi made a determined stand against this nefarious practice. He declared that the only justifiable birth control was self-control. In December, 1931 he wrote:

In regard to the limitation of birth rate by artificial methods, I have made a considerable study of the question, and have been in communication with many thinkers in Western Europe and America. I have come definitely to the conclusion that these artificial methods suggested by reformers today will prove to be death-traps. The introduction of such methods can only do immeasurable harm to India.

In his championship of the social rights and liberties of the depressed classes and his constant endeavors for their economic uplift, he upheld a truth for which the Christian forces of the country constantly stood. His philosophy of "soul-force" and non-violence was also based on his interpretation of the teachings of Our Lord.

When he launched his civil disobedience movement in February, 1922 as a protest against British administration, and, contrary to his expectations, violence broke out and an angry mob burned to death a sub-inspector and twenty-one policemen, he called off the movement and started a penitential fast. This method was his ordinary weapon against injustice and violence. He had recourse to it first in South Africa to redress the grievances of the Indian settlers, and for the last time on January 13, 1948. When his friends and admirers dissuaded him from undertaking such an ordeal in his seventy-ninth year, his answer was: "Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness of the destruction of India, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam." He begged of his friends not to be anxious for him. "I am in God's hands," he said.

Yet, while the Mahatma made Christ and His teaching, in its moral aspects, widely known and appreciated by a great many of his countrymen, he opposed Christian missionary activities. "Looking at all religions with an equal eye," he wrote, "we would not only hesitate, but would think it our duty, to blend into our faith every acceptable feature of other faiths." He did not believe in the exclusive truth of any religion. He was a Hindu by birth, tradition and sentiment, upheld the fallacy that all religions are equally good, equally profitable to man and pleasing to God, and strongly opposed conversions, chiefly group conversions. While eulogizing the unselfish and noble services of missionaries in the field of education, social service and charity, he resented any organized effort on their part to win souls to Christ by baptism and incorporation into the Church. His ideas profoundly influenced the intelligentsia; some even thought they were Christians because they revered Christ and followed a few of His teachings, and others felt more firmly established in their traditional beliefs and practices.

Mahatma Gandhi's reputation and the influence of his ideals have been greatly enhanced by his tragic death. Perhaps we may hope that the power of the spirit over material things, which he taught, will be more deeply understood and appreciated and that peace and harmony will become an abiding reality in our great country of many races, languages and religions.

Family budget vs. family income

L. J. Twomey, S.J.

One of the principal tenets of Catholic social philosophy is that every worker is entitled to a living wage. To define what this right implies is relatively simple. The following definition would seem to include all the requisites: every man willing and able to work has a right to that measure of material goods which will enable him to provide himself and his family not only with the necessities of life but also with moderate comfort and reasonable security. (This does not mean that society owes any man a living, but it does mean that it owes every man the opportunity to make a living.) Perhaps only the perverse will challenge the substantial correctness of this definition. But the difficulty lies not so much in framing a theoretical definition as in the dollars-and-cents evaluation of what in practice constitutes a living wage. Many varied monetary expressions have been attempted. Few have received any general acceptance. Fewer still have evoked agreement between the two forces most interested, management and labor.

Yet if Catholic social philosophy is to play a dominant role in the reconstruction of social economy, its theory must be implemented in practice. The question of the living wage is crucial to such implementation. It is one thing to preach sermons and to write learned articles about the moral obligation of paying a living wage. But for such to be more than mere exhortations, this obligation must be spelled out in terms of what actually constitutes a living wage. It might seem that one of the weaknesses of Catholic social philosophy has been its apparent inability to state concretely in dollars and cents what amounts are necessary for the essentials of food, shelter and clothing and for moderate comfort and reasonable security. No one who has made any study of Catholic social principles is unaware of the insistence that must be laid on this matter of a living wage. In their social encyclicals the Popes have underscored this cardinal point in strong language. But they have left it up to the labors of research to discover in the varying circumstances of economic and social life the actual monetary components of a living wage.

In face of the necessity of thus giving practical expression to the living wage, it is fortunate indeed that reliable statistics are now available which enable the social actionist to nail down in concrete terms the actual money value of a living wage. In the *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1948, the Bureau of Labor Statistics published its estimate of expenditures required to support the family of a city worker on a level of moderate comfort and reasonable security. "The City Worker's Family Budget" was compiled in answer to a directive of the Labor and Federal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives "to find out what it costs a worker's family to live in the large cities

of the U. S." In the words of the Bureau's report, "the budget was designed to represent the estimated dollar cost required to maintain this family (of four) at a level of adequate living—to satisfy prevailing standards of what is necessary for health, efficiency, the nurture of children and for participation in community activities. This is not a 'subsistence' budget, nor is it a 'luxury budget'; it is an attempt to describe a modest but adequate standard of living."

As of June, 1947, the budget estimates for 34 leading cities of the United States, the dollar content of a yearly income necessary for the adequate living of a father aged 38, a mother aged 36, a high-school boy of 13 and a grade-school girl of 8. The husband alone is the wage earner; the wife does all the housework, cooking, cleaning and laundry without paid help. Their rented home has five rooms, including a kitchen and bath with hot and cold running water. It is equipped with the usual house furnishings and with mechanical devices considered household necessities—a gas or electric stove, a mechanical refrigerator and a washing-machine. Items in the budget include expenses for food, clothing, medical care and transportation. Other expenditures are listed for reading and recreation, for barber and beauty-shop services, for soap, dentifrices, shaving supplies, tobacco, school expenses, such as textbooks and other supplies not furnished by public schools, for Christmas and birthday presents to persons outside the family. Additional outlays take care of taxes, life insurance, unemployment insurance and occupational expenses, such as dues to unions, business and professional associations and special equipment and clothing required for work. An analysis of the budget, to which the Bureau devotes thirty-seven pages, does not reveal any extravagant provisions, but only those which seem necessary to provide a decent level of living according to what we have been led to believe is the American standard of life.

In the thirty-four cities for which budgets were compiled, the widest variation is only \$454. New Orleans has the lowest estimated cost, \$3,004, and Washington the highest, \$3,458. Between this high and low fall such cities as Seattle, \$3,388; New York, \$3,347; San Francisco, \$3,317; Boston, \$3,310; Detroit, \$3,293; Chicago, \$3,282; Los Angeles, \$3,251; St. Louis, \$3,247; Memphis, \$3,220; Atlanta, \$3,150; Houston, \$3,007. Taking the lowest-cost city in the group—New Orleans with \$3,004—as the basis of further analysis, we come up with some interesting observations. This yearly income represents a weekly wage of \$57.77, and on the basis of the standard forty-hour week it represents an hourly payment of \$1.44. By contrasting this latter figure with that of the forty-cent hourly rate now prescribed by the Fair Labor Standards Act, we conclude that the prevailing minimum-wage law is utterly inadequate to provide a worker in interstate commerce (those not covered by the FLSA are on the average in a much less favorable position) with income sufficient to support him and his family on a human level of living.

To put the city worker's budget in sharper perspective, it is helpful to compare it with the statistics recently

issued by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. According to these statistics, 57 per cent of American family units received less than \$3,000 incomes in 1946. A family includes "all persons living in the same dwelling who are related by blood, marriage or adoption." During the same period, 65 per cent of American spending units received incomes less than \$3,000. A spending unit is defined as "all persons living in the same dwelling and belonging to the same family who pool their incomes to meet major expenses; there may be more than one spending unit in any family." In the beginning of 1947 there were an estimated 46.3 million spending units and 40.6 million family units in the U.S. An even more disturbing feature of the Federal Reserve's report on 1946 income distribution is the breakdown by occupational groups according to spending units. In the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled worker class, 69 per cent received less than \$3,000 as an annual income.

It should be noted that the income distribution reported by the Federal Reserve covers the year 1946; whereas the budget estimates of the Bureau of Labor

Statistics are as of June, 1947. Moreover, the Bureau limits its "typical" family to four persons, whereas the Federal Reserve assigns no specific number to its family unit. Due allowance should be made for these discrepancies.



But even when due allowance is made, the question forces itself upon us as to what is wrong with the economic system of the world's richest nation when it can provide less than half the families of America with incomes estimated to be sufficient to support "a modest but adequate standard of living." Some may quarrel with the statistics of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and with the estimates of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is difficult, however, to find more impartial sources of statistical data. But if we accept these figures as reasonable and equitable, the deficiencies of our American economic system seem to cry out for some such remedy as proposed in the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pius XI:

Genuine social order demands that the various members of a society be united together by some strong bond. This unifying force is present not only in the producing of goods or the rendering of services—in which the employers and employees of an identical industry or profession collaborate jointly—but also in that common good, to achieve which all industries and professions together ought, each to the best of its ability, to cooperate amicably.

Only through such an organization of our social economy will "the distribution of created goods . . . be brought into conformity with the demands of the common good, that is, of social justice."

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Literature & Art

“Heart of the Matter”: Greene’s greatest?

Harold C. Gardiner

Whether or not this is a Catholic novel (and I think it most emphatically is), it is certainly a novel that could have been written only by a Catholic. Its theme, the possibilities of damnation that lie under even the virtues within a human soul, might indeed be treated by any convinced Christian, but this theme, set as it is in a framework of sacraments which are acknowledged only by Catholics, persuades the reader that only one intimately and even devoutly familiar with the Christ-established mechanism of the ordinary channels of grace could have achieved this novel.

Those who are familiar with Greene’s earlier work will inevitably be thrown back in recollection to his *Brighton Rock*; it is only in Pinkie, the coldly calculating sinner of that book, that we had a sinister parallel to the much more sympathetic figure of Scobie in *The Heart of the Matter*, and *Brighton Rock*, too, was a book that could have been written only by a Catholic.

What is it that may prevent this present masterpiece from being universally hailed as a Catholic book? It will not be so hailed, I am convinced, even by a good number of Catholic critics, and I believe the reason is, as so frequently happens in puzzling stories of this type, that critics will not distinguish between author and protagonist. The protagonist in *The Heart of the Matter*, as will come out better perhaps in my summary of the book later on, is a man who is bewildered and confused and, in his own inner conviction, trapped into an intolerable position where he has deliberately ruined himself morally and sees no out except the one way that no believer can take. Readers, I am afraid, and even those who guide reading, are going to feel that Mr. Greene himself is equally confused and bewildered. For all I know, Mr. Greene may be, but there is no justification for substituting Graham Greene for Major Scobie whenever the character’s name appears in print.

The story of *The Heart of the Matter* is the story of a man who is betrayed by pity. Scobie is a British civil servant in a colony on the west coast of Africa. He and his wife had come out to the colony some fifteen years earlier, after the death of their only daughter. Scobie loved his wife at marriage and still loves her, though, as she has degenerated into somewhat of a gently nagging neurotic, his love has shaded off into a deep sense of pity for her and a gnawing little sensation of guilt that it is he who has made her so. His warm and very human pity

extends to the natives of the port, to his fellow-Englishmen, sweltering, swilling to some extent, having a fling in native brothels—anything in the world to relieve their boredom while they never suspect that there is such a thing as spiritual relief.

When his wife finally persuades him that she can stand the heat and his apparent disgrace (he had been passed over for a promotion) no longer, Scobie, who has always been the most incorruptible of men, finally accepts a bribe from one of the oily Arab traders in town so as to have funds to send his wife off for a vacation.

In her absence, survivors of a torpedoing (it is wartime) are landed in the port, among them a young bride whose husband had been lost in the disaster. Again Scobie’s pity for the young girl’s shock and loneliness leads him first to friendliness and, all but blindly, to taking her as his mistress. His wife, on her return, all unsuspecting of his almost unconscious infidelity, very sweetly keeps badgering him about not receiving Communion frequently enough until, unable, as he thinks, to make a good confession, unwilling to betray his unfaithfulness and so hurt his wife further, tortured and bewildered, but still realizing fully what he is doing, he receives Communion sacrilegiously. From then on he thinks that he is an abandoned soul and, rather than drag others down to ruin with himself, he takes his life.

But is he damned? Mr. Greene does not say so, nor ought he, because it is not within the province of an author (save in fantasies, which this book definitely is not) to follow his character beyond the limits of mundane time and space. Mr. Greene, therefore, passes no final adverse judgment, nor should he. In fact, I think a careful reading of the book will unearth a hint of precisely the opposite. If it is Scobie’s pity, uncontrolled, promiscuous, perhaps sentimental, certainly weak, which has brought him to the brink of ruin, it is also that precise impulse to answer a call of need which I think saves him in the end. In the truly gripping scene in which Scobie has taken the overdose of sleeping pills and is awaiting signs of death, Mr. Greene has the passage run:

It seemed to him as though someone outside the room were seeking him, calling him, and he made a last effort to indicate that he was here. He got on his feet and heard the hammer of his heart beating out a reply. He had a message to convey but the darkness and the storm drove it back within the case of his breast, and all the time outside the house, outside the world that drummed like hammer blows within his ear, someone wandered seeking to get in, someone appealing for help, someone in need of him, and automatically at the call of need, at the cry of a victim, Scobie strung himself to act. He dredged his consciousness up from an infinite distance in order to make some reply. He said aloud, “Dear God, I love . . .” but the effort was too great and he did

not feel his body when it struck the floor or hear the small tinkle of the medal as it span like a coin under the icebox—the saint whose name nobody could remember.

If this passage is read in connection with earlier ones which delve into Scobie's mind as he receives his sacrilegious Communion and which show that Scobie realizes he is thereby making God a victim, I think the conclusion is inescapable, that the someone who is calling him, appealing for help, who needs him at the end, is none other than God. Pity for humans which had led Scobie to this very edge of damnation becomes what we may in a very true sense call pity for God. "Automatically at the call of need" Scobie begins what certainly seems like an act of love. The fact that God does need us, or certainly acts as though He does by a divine stratagem to elicit love, is amply testified to by Our Lord's parables of the Prodigal Son and the lost sheep, which impress us powerfully with the fact that God is saying, over and over again, that it is as though He would not be happy without us.

Yet, to give a fair picture, I must balance this interpretation by pointing out that, earlier in the story, Scobie goes to investigate the suicide of a fellow civil servant. When the young priest bewails the fact that the dead man has sealed his own eternal doom, Scobie tries to find an extenuating circumstance and remarks that if he himself or the priest had committed suicide, it would have been a different matter, for *they* would have acted out of despair. Does Greene mean to strike the motif here, to introduce the theme that will find resolution in Scobie's death? Or does he mean to hint how wrong Scobie was to prove himself?

Throughout the story runs the effective and disturbing contrast between Scobie, who believes unshakably in heaven and hell, who knows that he will win the one or be condemned to the other, depending upon his love of God and his fidelity to God's law, and the other Englishmen in the colony who don't care whether there is a heaven or a hell, or, if there is, whether love of God has anything to do with either. While Scobie wrestles with himself and agonizes interiorly, two of his compatriots fritter away their empty time by engaging in bets on who can stalk down and kill the most cockroaches in their slovenly rooms of evenings. Graham Greene seems to be wondering in this book, as he obviously did in *Brighton Rock*, whether these characters, moral zeros as they are, can ever be men enough for either salvation or damnation. They are the perfect examples of the lukewarm of the Gospel whom God will spew forth because they have been neither for nor against Him. Scobie, with all his moral cowardice, was never swathed in such a moral vacuity.

Scattered throughout the pages are a number of expressions which one comes upon first with a sense of shock—such as, for example, Scobie's immediate thought on receiving Communion sacrilegiously: "Oh, God, I offer You my damnation." This is either nonsense or blasphemy, but let it be remarked once more that this is Scobie's thought, not necessarily Mr. Greene's. Again, when Father Rank, the pastor, is endeavoring to give

Mrs. Scobie some consolation when the suicide is revealed, he tells her that it does not follow that, because her husband took his own life, he is therefore damned. When she interjects, "The Church says . . .," he responds, "I know the Church says. The Church knows all the rules. But it doesn't know what goes on in a single human heart." This statement startles at first reading, but some brief thought reveals that there's much of truth in it.

These and other incidental passages in the book show that Mr. Greene, though he is profoundly interested in moral and theological problems, is not (and how can we demand that he be?) a technically trained theologian. Indeed, he is not interested particularly in solving theological questions, but he *is* interested in delineating the terrific impact of theology on human souls.

Of the style of the book I think nothing more perceptive can be said than what was written by Mr. Evelyn Waugh in the June 5 issue of the *London Tablet*. I wish I had been fortunate enough to say it first. Waugh writes:

The style of writing is grim. It is not a specifically literary style at all. The words are functional, devoid of sensuous attraction, of ancestry and of independent life. . . . A polyglot could read Mr. Greene, lay him aside, retain a sharp memory of all he said and yet, I think, entirely forget what tongue he was using. The words are simply mathematical signs for his thought.

And yet Greene's writing is highly stylistic; it is even rich in its austerity; style and action are welded into a unity.

The greatest weakness I detect in the story is that Greene gives the impression, almost inescapably, that he considers Scobie a saint. I'm not saying that Greene seems to condone the man's sinful acts; he doesn't any more than Scobie himself does, and Scobie knows without blinking that he has sinned. But Greene's penetration of his character is so intimate and so sympathetic as almost to shade off into admiration. I wonder if Mr. Greene himself has not let his own pity for his character, brought to the very brink of the abyss through pity, become slightly ungoverned.

One final remark on this complex, sincere, deeply felt and deeply moving book. It has been acclaimed abroad by critics in no way given to flamboyant praise, as "a great novelist's greatest novel." Here I demur. I still think that *The Power and the Glory* is the greater book. However, in the flood of American novels for the past several years which have had nothing of real worth and meaning to say, this grim meditation on vice and virtue, as they struggle for the soul of a man who very probably would have attained high sanctity as an ascetic, is a noble achievement. And it has been remarked, even by an American critic who has never before betrayed much appreciation of the superb themes which lie latent in Catholic dogma, that it is precisely that dogma which gives this novel its strength and even what may truly be called its beauty.

(*The Heart of the Matter*, by Graham Greene. Viking Press 320p. \$3)

Books

Prime Minister's classic

THE GATHERING STORM

By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton, Mifflin. 784p. \$6

Winston Churchill, during his years as Prime Minister, issued "memoranda, directives, personal telegrams, and minutes which amount to nearly a million words." These documents will presumably be the basis for the five-volume work introduced by the book being reviewed. Naturally the personality of Churchill will give life to the narrative but, actually, he does not dominate the book to the extent that might be supposed. He is to be commended for observing: "I have adhered to my rule of never criticizing any measure of war or policy after the event unless I had before expressed publicly or formally my opinion or warning about it." Although he offers criticism freely, Mr. Churchill does not launch attacks upon those who differed with him. He quotes liberally from his speeches in order to show his position in earlier years; but the book is much more than a memoir—it is what Churchill wishes it to be, a volume giving the background of the war which broke out in 1939, a catastrophe which Churchill considered quite unnecessary and entirely avoidable.

The first half of the book is devoted to the period between the end of World War I and the opening of World War II. England's former Prime Minister does not attempt to depict himself as an untiring advocate of international cooperation after World War I ended—that would certainly have been contrary to the facts in the case. He makes it clear that he did not admire the accomplishments of the Washington Naval Conference of 1921. He regrets that England and France did not cooperate in the 1920's, but does not mention the unfriendly attitude that England manifested toward France when that nation occupied the Ruhr in an effort to force the Germans to pay reparations. Churchill dislikes everything associated with indemnities. He implies that England simply could not pay the United States the annual amount settled upon in the 1920's as fair and reasonable. It will be recalled, and he admits, that this was to be a payment of about \$175,000,000. Why England found it impossible to make this yearly payment

and how she found it possible to spend this amount daily for years after the war broke out in 1939 is not explained.

In these pages, Mr. Churchill emphasizes repeatedly the position that he took in 1934 and later, and his quoted speeches are offered in evidence. He was convinced that he had good reason to believe that the Germans were violating the Versailles Treaty; in particular, he spoke in Commons of German air superiority over England, only to have his efforts opposed by Stanley Baldwin and by Ramsay MacDonald. Many Englishmen then failed to share Churchill's distrust of Hitler's pledged word, despite *Mein Kampf*. In this book are the speeches of May, 1935 which give proof that Mr. Churchill even then urged an alliance of England, France, and Russia against Germany. In August, 1939 the Germans and the Russians made the agreement which freed Hitler from the threat of a two-front war. Hitler evidently planned that hostilities should begin on August 25. This reviewer was in Berlin on that date and can easily recall the steady stream of war vehicles passing through the Brandenburg Gate. It seemed as though the war had actually begun, although the Germans did not pour into Poland until September 1.

The second half of the volume tells of Churchill's experiences after being called to take charge of the Admiralty—the same ministry in which he served during World War I—on September 3, the day that England entered the war. He recounts his feelings as he visits Scapa Flow to inspect the ships a few days after taking office. Thinking back to his visit to the same place in World War I, he observes:

Most of the captains and admirals of those days were dead, or had long passed into retirement. . . . It was a strange experience, like suddenly resuming a previous incarnation. . . . Fisher, Wilson, Battenberg, Jellicoe, Beatty, Pakenham, Sturdee, all gone! . . . And what of the supreme measureless ordeal in which we were again irrevocably plunged? . . . Would America come in again? . . . Somehow the light faded out of the landscape.

Excellent sketches of world leaders are given. One of the best is that of Molotov. Russian policies are unemotionally analyzed. Excellent material is included concerning English-Italian relations in 1935. The course of the war is traced until May 10, 1940 when George VI called Churchill to Buckingham Palace and asked him to form a new Government. Chamberlain was willing to resign; Churchill agreed. With the grim

determination characteristic of him he undertook the defense of England.

Mr. Churchill's experiences as Prime Minister are to be treated in the later volumes. Better plan to read them.

PAUL KINIERY

Security through social control

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

By Albert Lauterbach. Cornell University Press. 178p. \$2.50.

Professor Lauterbach, the scene of whose labors is Sarah Lawrence College, has written an economic tract for our times. Alive to the implications of total war in the atomic age, he wants to make his readers see, once and for all, that the persistence of laissez-faire thinking is a grave threat to our survival as a free people and to world peace. Unless we quit talking clichés and get down to economic realities, we shall end up in totalitarianism via the stupid way of insecurity, unemployment, crisis and war.

The overwhelming fact which must be faced is this: no modern, industrialized nation can any longer afford to trust its economic well-being to the uncontrolled adjustments of an impersonal market. On the other hand, no Western nation, with a tradition of freedom stemming from the value of the human person, can subordinate liberty to security. Whatever the scheme adopted to level out the ups and downs of our erratic economic system, it must leave room for initiative and enterprise. Security, says the author, should be identified "with social control of the rate and direction of progress, not with the absence of progress."

Dr. Lauterbach is no doctrinaire. He is arguing here not for socialism, but for a mixed economy which would involve a good deal more government intervention than the NAM would like, and a good deal less than socialist dogma demands. In view of developments abroad, and even of the trend here these past fifteen years, what the author advocates will strike many as only mildly radical. As he himself points out, the sharp differences which formerly existed between economic liberalism and socialism have gradually worn away. Many businessmen have come to recognize the necessity of some social controls; and many Socialists now see a virtue in initiative and enterprise which would have horrified their nineteenth-century forebears. In other words, people are beginning to realize,

as Pope Leo XIII saw almost sixty years ago, that reasonable economic security need not involve the sacrifice of liberty, rightly understood.

This being in the nature of a tract, the difficulties in the way of reconciling social controls with initiative and progress are minimized. So imperious are our acquisitive instincts that the present reviewer doubts whether they can be sufficiently curbed, apart from religious motivation, to make the author's recommendations workable. If this is true, then the only possible alternative is coercion; which may be the reason why some people feel that economic planning is only a short step from dictatorship.

For the reader who wishes to pursue the "planning-and freedom" debate at greater length, there is a selected bibliography which includes most of the modern books on the subject. A few lines characterizing each book would have made the list more helpful. And R. H. Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* should certainly have been included. BENJAMIN L. MASSE

The Word

PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

19. *By whom all things are made.* I don't think (says the Man in the Street) I am better than anybody else. Nor perhaps worse. Just average. But, if that is so, the average Christian must find it mighty difficult to pray decently.

Why (asks the Theologian)?

Because of what our spiritual fathers call "distractions." I am pestered with them. As soon as I kneel down, shutting my eyes, stopping my ears, to "meditate," there they are—in swarms, like hornets. They seem to come from within. I am painfully aware that my shoes pinch, that the room is cold, that I am about to sneeze, that cars are roaring in the street, that a dog barks under my window, that rain is threatening, that some letters lie unanswered on my desk. In short, my thoughts, while flying to God, are dashed to earth by all those things.

But things could lead you to God, as well as thoughts.

I don't understand. Do you suggest I could meet God on horseback? Meditate while driving a car?

Not precisely. But I feel you have not yet realized what environment means to life. Here again theology may render you some service.

Theology, environment, distractions in prayer—it sounds somewhat disconnected.

But it is not. Prayer belongs to life; otherwise it would be reduced to a mere mechanical contrivance. And life is much concerned with environment. It is not necessary to delve deeply into biological experiments to acknowledge this obvious fact. Life *in vacuo* is simply impossible. The principle of life is within you; but the maintenance of life is made possible by the environment. You are constantly drawing from it. Light does not spring from your eyes; it comes to you from without, and enables you to see. To feed on yourself would be to starve; just as to stand on yourself would mean falling. All the chemicals which make up your body come from without. The principle of your life shapes them all in conformity

with your type, and they become not only yours, but *you*.

It sounds true enough, but what has all that to do with my distractions in prayer?

You'll catch the point if you listen a little longer. Since life cannot contradict life, we must expect for our spiritual life something like an environment too. And indeed we find one, namely, all those things which apparently thwart your prayer. As a matter of fact, they don't harm your prayer; they just ruffle your precious thoughts. Those things are a very congenial environment for the spiritual life—nay, the only possible one. Why? Simply because all things were *made by the Word of God*. They are therefore filled with a divine message: full of hints, of warnings, of powers, of speech—ever ready, never silent. Since they are made



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America's July Book-Log

10

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by God, they speak of God. Our only task is to assimilate their mysterious lesson, just as our bodies assimilate carbon or nitrogen through eating lettuce. Did you ever notice that Our Lord, in the Gospel, advises us to look at the lilies, at the birds, the fish, the sheep, the clouds, the barn, the bread, at the sparrows and at the mustard seed? He knew them all. He made them. They are His words in the shape of things. They are not out of place in your prayer. And when you push them out to put your own thoughts in their stead, I am afraid you strike a very poor bargain. No prayer can thrive *in vacuo*. You must feed your spiritual life by drawing from the divine environment God has put around it.

Beautiful, indeed; but then what are the "distractions" that spiritual writers speak of so insistently? They must exist, since there's so much fuss about them.

Yes, unfortunately, they exist. And they arise at the very moment you look at the things, not as being made by God, but as though made by themselves—as soon as you behave like a pagan, forgetting the very nature of the visible world. St. Francis of Assisi could pray, not only about the swallows, but *with* them. There is nothing to marvel at in that, since we know, as he himself said, that in the most humble things of creation, he was able to "smell the scent of the divine hands which had made them."

PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

Theatre

SOAP BOX THEATRE. Ed Sullivan, *Daily News* columnist, recently wrote: "First time I saw *Call Me Mister*, the opening chorus number displayed chorines and chorus boys each carrying a copy of *PM*. This was to drive home the message to the audience that the hoofers were liberals." Mr. Sullivan then proceeds, by way of advice to actors who permit their social consciousness to color their art: "When you go to a theatre to see a musical, the political convictions of hoofers or principals are unimportant." When Mr. Sullivan wrote those sentences he was speaking for Sophocles, Shakespeare, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Bernard Shaw and the conductor of this column.

Only an alarmist would see serious harm in a hooper's delivering a pro-Wallace spiel while beating his taps, or a crooner's inserting a Republican

plug between his torch numbers. There are types of entertainers who win popularity by exploiting some physical gift or minor deformity—say, Bing Crosby's mellow voice, Bill Robinson's nimble feet or Jimmie Durante's de Bergerac proboscis. The political ideas of those performers, too, as Mr. Sullivan says, are unimportant. An insinuation of their social beliefs would, at worst, be a distraction, an annoyance to a majority of the audience which would eventually cost the performer a decline in public favor.

There are, of course, exceptions to the rule of political anonymity imposed on an actor by the conditions of his art and his relations with the public. Will Rogers, in his late Ziegfeld period and subsequent radio vogue, expressed himself freely on politics and social trends. Salted with his pungent but never sardonic humor, his observations on the vagaries of politics and the stresses and frictions of American life eventually became his principal stock in trade and, next to his unique personality, the source of his immense popularity. In one of his broadcasts Rogers used the word "danky," and the deluge of protests from his colored listeners was so great that on a later program he disclaimed any intention to use the word in an offensive sense. The incident was an indication of his vast following and the importance to the public of even his casual gags. Rogers, a modern homolog of the king's jester, was humorist extraordinary to the American people and a privileged character on the stage; and he never abused his privileged position.

The ballad is a legitimate propaganda instrument, following the tradition of the Minnesinger and Troubadours, whose modern successors are the Calypso singers of Trinidad and other West Indian communities. Josh White, perhaps the leading American practitioner of the art, makes such songs as *Jim Crow Train* and *One Meat Ball* effective ballads of social protest. That is all right so long as a performer is on his own, and is frankly appearing as propagandist as well as artist. But when he appears as a character in a story, a play or musical comedy, the only political or other ideas he is supposed to express or insinuate are those written in the script by the author. Any actor who attempts to inform an audience of his personal views, whether they are opposed to or in agreement with the author's, is defacing a work of art. That is esthetic vandalism.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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I'm Old Jim, the postman. Winter and summer, I carry the mail to INFORMATION. That's the smart, new magazine the Paulist Fathers get out every month. You've seen it on your parish pamphlet rack.

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Films

EASTER PARADE. Movie musicals fall roughly into two categories: the backstage variety in which the singing and dancing are confined to production numbers; and the operetta in which all the world's a stage and any time one of the principals feels like breaking into song a phantom orchestra comes to his assistance. Using a strictly functional story line which combines both formulas, *Easter Parade* manages to crowd a dozen and a half Irving Berlin tunes, new and old, into its normal-length running time. For the purposes of plot Fred Astaire is a dancer whose partner (Ann Miller), ditches him one spring day for an offer of solo billing. To show the lady that she is far from indispensable, Astaire picks an inexperienced chorine to take her place. His choice proves to be an apt pupil and, since she is Judy Garland, also very handy with the vocal chords. By the time the next Easter rolls around the new team is famous, and an epidemic of unrequited love infecting the three already mentioned, plus Peter Lawford (whose amiable presence is not very well explained), has been cleared up to the satisfaction of the two stars. The Technicolor is excellent, the music-and-dancing interludes staged with verve and imagination, and the players' deftly unassuming performances make the story seem quite tolerable. As light-weight summer fare for the family this could hardly be improved upon. (MGM)

CANON CITY. The semi- or pseudo-documentary technique is put to its strangest use to date in this on-the-spot reenactment of last year's Colorado prison break. With Warden Roy Best playing himself, the penitentiary inmates acting as extras and "bit" players and a carefully selected group of relatively little known actors in the roles of the men whose bid for freedom was ended within two days, the picture is for the most part realistic and engrossing and at the same time almost devoid of gratuitous brutality. Aside from the obvious "crime does not pay" moral, which is hardly the reason for filming prison stories, the film's appeal for adult audiences lies in its objective presentation of "enlightened" prison methods and of the men who will none the less take desperate means to escape, as well as in some effectively under-

played scenes depicting the reactions of average citizens when faced by armed desperadoes. However, occasionally, with the predominance of unfamiliar faces, it becomes difficult to tell one character from another; also, if one convict was actually trapped on a dizzying suspension bridge and another undone by a small boy's attack of appendicitis, this reviewer will reluctantly accept these highly theatrical incidents as proof that life is very like the movies. Real or not, they were jarringly out of key with the generally factual tone. (Eagle-Lion)

I, JANE DOE. Imagine an attractive, woman criminal lawyer (of which there are probably more in the film output of any given year than are to be found in the whole United States). Imagine also that she is a bereaved widow whose husband was recently shot by another woman who refuses to defend or even to identify herself. On top of this, imagine what events could shape her determination to help this friendless creature, even though it means taking the witness stand to reveal the closely guarded secret of her own past unhappiness. This rough outline alone could keep *Portia Faces Life* going on the radio for several months. Ruth Hussey, who has the crisp intelligence for it, is the attorney; John Carroll, her husband brought to life by flash-backs; and Vera Ralston the defendant. Adult soap opera fans are warned to take several handkerchiefs; all others are simply warned. (Republic)

MOIRA WALSH

Parade

MORAL DISHARMONY RESOUNDED throughout the week, and was recorded by the newspapers. . . . Human beings, composing a sort of globe-circling orchestra, were, as usual, defying the Divine Conductor. . . . Instead of the rapturous strains sought by the divine baton, there poured forth blasts of moral cacophony. . . . From here, there and everywhere rose the columns of sour notes. . . . A new use for money was reported. . . . In England a man, bent on suicide, swallowed thirty pennies. A surgeon extracted twenty-three of the coins, and the man, with seven pennies still in him, lived on, in a cell. . . . Mass-production bigamy appeared. . . . As an English wedding ceremony

Correspondence

Poland's boundaries

EDITOR: AMERICA's editorial, "Where Poland stands" (issue of June 12) repeats the usual expressions of sympathy for "the tragic plight of the Polish people," but seems to consider exclusively their present sufferings under the rule of Russian communism, and to forget what they suffered from 1939 to 1945 under German nazism. Even the expression of Catholic solidarity with the Church in Poland "in its daring stand against communism" serves as a starting point for a severe indictment directed not against the foreign masters of Poland, but against the anti-communist Polish patriots, called the "ultra-nationalists," and against the same Catholic church of Poland, including Cardinal Hlond.

It is true that the Polish hierarchy "came out in support of the new western borders." At the same time, they came out in defense of our Holy Father, explaining that, contrary to communist charges, he did not oppose that new boundary—a purely political issue—but merely expressed his sympathy with people expelled from any country.

It is a mistake to create the impression that "some 12 million Germans" were expelled from Poland alone. The whole population of the western territories recovered by that country, including at least a million Poles, did not reach the figure given, and most of the Germans had fled before the Red Army prior to expulsion orders by the Polish administration. What the Polish Church approved was not the method of enforced transfer of populations, but the territorial compensation granted Poland for so many irreparable losses.

Without attempting to present all the arguments—impossible to summarize in just seven lines—it must be pointed out that even with these lands, taken not from a "defenseless neighbor," but from a defeated aggressor and conqueror, Poland is twenty per cent smaller than in 1939, and its population is reduced to two-thirds its former size. If, as is suggested, Poland should lose both her western and eastern borderlands, simply because they are "bitterly contested" by her enemies, the "new Poland" would have hardly more than half her pre-war area.

As to the Americans of Polish de-

scendent who in their recent convention unanimously—not "overwhelmingly"—endorsed the claims of their country of origin, they have a serious obligation to explain to their fellow citizens that the last defense of the West in Central Europe is not Germany, America's dangerous enemy in two wars, but traditionally pro-American Poland, whose present regime cannot last. That regime could be strengthened only through the misleading impression that America is taking Germany's side against Poland.

Still more unfortunate would be the impression that there is no real understanding between American and Polish Catholics, and that the heroic Church of Poland has to defend its position not only against the common danger of atheistic materialism, but also against misinterpretations by well-intentioned Catholic leaders in this country. Those who believe that Polish patriotism—and even Polish Catholicism—follows an "order of the day" of Soviet propaganda, are themselves victims of a well-organized anti-Polish propaganda which can only split the forces of Catholic unity, now so badly needed.

OSCAR HALECKI, PH.D.

Fordham University
New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: Are Poles "following the master mind of the Kremlin" when Great Britain and America sold almost half of Poland down the river to Russia—permitting Russia to destroy 2,600 Catholic parishes east of the so-called Curzon Line? So far as I know, the Catholics of the United States did not protest at that time, but hastened to acknowledge a Polish government chosen by the Kremlin so that it might grant the mutilated Poland and the Catholic Church freedom! Who then followed the master mind of the Kremlin?

Is it ultra-nationalism when the Poles demand restitution from Germany for leveled Warsaw, for the cities ruined, villages burned, for hundreds of thousands of Poles slaughtered in 23 concentration camps, for the utter destruction caused by Germany's total war?

(REV.) VALERIUS J. JASINSKI
SS. Cyril & Methodius Seminary
Orchard Lake, Mich.

got under way, a little boy shouted to the minister: "Don't marry him. He's my pop." The bride fell over in a faint; the bridegroom landed in jail. . . . In Baltimore, a judge inquired of a sailor standing between two sobbing girls: "Which one do you want?" The sailor, who had formed the habit of calling his wives by numbers, replied: "I'll take No. 5." His sentence for bigamy suspended, the sailor, with No. 5 on his arm, walked out of court. . . . In another mass-production case, a Washington, D. C. wife, No. 55 in her series, sued for annulment, after testifying that her husband had fifty-four other wives. . . . FBI sources reported they had verified seventeen of this series. . . . Respect for property rights seemed at a low ebb. . . . In Italy a pickpocket lifted the wallet of a stranger on a trolley car. Examining the wallet later, the pickpocket found in it his wife's photograph and a check he had given her a few days before for housekeeping expenses. . . . Coincidence saved a Georgia man from losing his shirt. . . . Into an Atlanta restaurant strode a customer wearing the best shirt and tie of the waiter about to attend him. The eagle-eyed waiter called police, recovered the haberdashery. . . . The lure of solitaire seemed to be as strong as ever. . . . Caught stealing two decks of cards from a store, a newcomer to Cleveland, O., stated he wanted to play solitaire while waiting for a job to turn up. . . . Fast talkers were recorded. . . . Found with a supply of marihuana, a New Jersey youth explained how it all came about. He said that one day he happened to be lolling in a Jersey meadow and noticed rabbits munching on weeds. Having rabbits at home, he thought it would be a nice gesture to bring back an armful of the weeds for his pets. The judge said: "Three years."

Not all human beings blew sour notes during the week. . . . Peace of mind, genuine happiness, can be found only in accord between creature and Creator. . . . Realizing this, many humans on earth strive for this accord. . . . Thus the earth presents the spectacle of disharmony between the finite and the infinite side by side with harmony. . . . With its partial disharmony, earthly life furnishes a dim preview of hell, where the disharmony is total. . . . On the other hand, with its partial harmony, it provides some faint idea of heaven, where the harmony is complete. . . . This world can never be heaven, but it can take on a greater resemblance to it. JOHN A. TOOMEY

DANTE THEOLOGIAN

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